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A
SERMON
PREACH'D before
The Right Honourable the
LORD MAYOR,
AND
Court of ALDERMEN,
AND THE
CITIZENS of LONDON,
In the Cathedral Church of St. Paul,
JANUARY the 30th, 1710.

By SAMUEL BRADFORD, D.D.
Rector of St. Mary le-Bow, and Chaplain
in Ordinary to Her MAJESTY.

L O N D O N:
Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul's
Church-Yard. MDCCXI.

Heathcote, Mayor.

Martis xx. die Februarii 1710.

*Annoq; R. Reginae Annæ Magnæ
Britanniæ, &c. Nono.*

THIS Court doth desire Dr. *Bradford*
to Print his Sermon preached before
the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens
of this City, at the Cathedral Church of
St. Paul, on *Tuesday* the Thirtieth of
January last, being the Anniversary-Fast
for the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the
First.

Gibson.

DEDICATION.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
LORD MAYOR
OF THE
CITY of LONDON,
AND THE
COURT of ALDERMEN.

Right Honourable,

WHEN You call'd me to Preach before
You on this Anniversary, I thought it
not unsuitable to the Solemnity, nor to the pro-
per Business of my Function, to vindicate the
Practice of our Church from an Objection that
has of late Years been urg'd against it, as if
We acted inconsistently in Observing the Thir-
tieth of January as a Day of Fasting, and the

DEDICATION.

*Fifth of November as a Day of Thanksgiving,
and in using the Offices respectively appointed
for those Days.*

*I am well persuaded, that those who can
devoutly observe both those Anniversaries are
the Persons, who have the justest Appre-
hensions of our English Constitution, and are
best qualified and disposed to support it, both
in Church and State. And I take Your Order
here prefix'd (without which, this Discourse
would not have been printed) to be a publick
Testimony that You are of that Number,
and consequently that You are tainted neither
with Antimonarchical, nor Arbitrary Prin-
ciples, but know how to observe the Golden
Mean between two dangerous Extremes.*

*That Your Court may always consist of
such Magistrates, and that Almighty God
may make You his Instruments for the Well-
governing this City, and preserving it in Peace
and Prosperity, is the hearty Prayer of,*

Right Honourable,

*Your most Faithful
and Humble Servant,*

Samuel Bradford.

PROV. IV. 25, 26, 27.

Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look strait before thee.

Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established.

Turn not to the right hand, nor to the left : remove thy foot from evil.

SOLOMON in the Verses preceding had been advising, in the first place, to take care of the Inclinations and Affections of the Soul, the inward and secret Springs of our Words and Actions. *Keep thy heart with all diligence : for out of it are the issues of life.* In the next place he directs the Government of the Tongue, the taking care of our Words. *Put away from thee a froward Mouth ; and perverse lips put far from thee.* And then he adds, in the Words of my Text, some Rules for the well ordering of our Actions also ; and that not only as to their Nature and Quality in general ; but as to the End for which they are done, the Rule by which they are to be directed, the Principles from which they proceed, and the Circumstances with which they

they are attended ; all which Particulars concur to the rendring an Action truly good.

Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look strait before thee, that is, Let the end which thou propolest be good, and always take care to pursue that good end in a right manner, by using fair and direct means for the attaining it.

Ponder the path of thy feet, that is, weigh and consider well, what thou art about to do, before thou enterest upon Action ; never act rashly and precipitantly, especially in any matter of consequence : but so as that thou mayst be able to give a reason of thy actions both to thy self and others.

And let all thy ways be establish'd. Some read it, *And all thy ways shall be establish'd.* According to the former reading, it is as if the Wise Man had said, See that thou act by fix'd Rules, and upon certain Principles. According to the latter, it is as if he had said, If thou followest the Course which I have been directing, it will make thee to act wisely and steadily. Both the one and the other amount to the same sense ; forasmuch as certain fix'd Rules and Principles are necessary to the establishing our ways, to the making us act upon sure grounds, and to the rendring us steady and constant in our behaviour.

It follows, *Turn neither to the right hand, nor to the left*, that is, Carefully avoid both extremes. Beware of being so apprehensive of the danger on one side, as to neglect an equal, it may be, a greater danger on the other.

And

And lastly, *Remove thy foot from evil*, that is, Let no consideration, no motive whatsoever prevail with thee at any time to do that which is truly sinful. Let thy Intentions be never so just, the end thou propos'st never so good, let there be never so plausible arguments urg'd to persuade thee, never so alluring motives to tempt thee; yet have a great care, that thou never suffer thy self to do an immoral action.

This I take to be the plain meaning of my Text; and the acting by these excellent Rules would make us to approve our selves thoroughly wise and good Men in our several capacities and stations; and we should in the result of our actions thus directed, certainly reap the benefit of our Wisdom and Care.

Had the people of this Kingdom hearken'd to this advice of the Wise Man, we should never have had occasion to meet as on this day, publicly to condemn and bewail the detestable Fact committed upon it, so directly contrary to all the particulars of this wholesome Advice.

In treating on this Argument suitably to the occasion of our present assembling, I propose the following method.

I. Briefly to reflect upon the several Particulars of the Advice here given by *Solomon*, and to shew how we should follow it, in the direction of our Lives.

II. To shew wherein the Fact of this day contradicted this wholesome Advice of the wise Man.

III. To

III. To answer an Objection, which has been often, tho' very unreasonably made, against the declaring our detestation of this Fact, since the late happy Revolution.

IV. To apply what shall be said to our own Use.

I. Briefly to reflect upon the several Particulars of the Advice here given by *Solomon*, and to shew how we ought to follow it in the direction of our Lives.

I. The *first* Particular of this Advice is, That the end of all our Actions should be good, that we should have no dishonest Purposes, no base or unworthy Designs; but propose to our selves a just and right end in all we do.

What the main end of all our Actions should be, the Apostle hath plainly told us, when he advises, That *whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we should do all to the glory of God.* And Reason teacheth the same thing. He who is the *first Cause*, ought to be the *last end*. We are not our own, and consequently are not to live to our selves; but to him who gave us our Beings, and upon whom we constantly and entirely depend.

Now God is said to be glorified by his Creatures, when his Power, his Wisdom and Goodness, and his other divine Perfections are observ'd, and acknowledg'd, and made conspicuous by them: and we are said to make the Glory of God our chief End, when we propose it to our selves as the great Design of our Lives, to act to those Purposes

Purposes for which God sent us into Being, and to demean our selves in all respects suitably to the Frame in which he hath made us. We can add nothing to the Happiness of Almighty God, who ever was and will be infinitely blessed in himself, without any Dependence upon his Creatures. But since he hath made us intelligent and reasonable Creatures, we may do good to our selves, and to one another, and thereby answer the end of God's sending us into the World, and consequently shew forth his Glory.

In our single Capacities, we make the Glory of God our End, when we endeavour to improve our Spirits, to keep our Bodies in due Subjection to them, to grow up into the Likeness of our Maker, and to prepare our selves for the Enjoyment of him.

As we are Members of Society, we make the Glory of God our End, when laying aside all narrow, selfish designs, we endeavour to promote the Publick Good, the Welfare of the World in general, as far as lies in our power, and more particularly the Welfare of that Society of Men to which we peculiarly belong, the City or the Kingdom of which we are Members. Where by promoting its Welfare, I mean the promoting of Piety and Virtue, together with external Peace and good Order, and whatsoever may render humane Society easy and happy. When we have these Ends in our view, and none but such as are con-

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sistent with, and subordinate to these, then we follow the advice of *Solomon*. But to proceed.

2. The next particular is; That we should pursue this good end in a right manner, by using fair and direct means for the attaining it. This, together with the former particular, seems to be included in those words, *Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look strait before thee*. Take no indirect courses, but use such Methods as are manifestly just and honest, in order to the bringing about whatsoever design thou hast proposed.

Such is the necessity of observing this rule, that from the neglect of it the worst and vilest of actions have proceeded. How many injuries have been done to innocent and righteous Men, under a pretence of zeal for God, and true Religion? When the *Jews* crucified our Lord, and persecuted his Apostles and Disciples to the death, it was, as our Lord himself speaks, *thinking that they did God service*. Hence have proceeded innumerable disorders in States and Kingdoms, when the publick Peace has been disturb'd, and all good Order broken, out of a pretence of promoting the honour of God, and the good of Men.

But we are to consider, that the end will not sanctify the means. He who hath commanded us to make his Glory our great End, hath likewise told us how he will be glorified, namely by our doing according to his Will, and observing strictly the Laws which he hath given us. When *Job's* friends, out of a pious design to justify God's proceedings,

proceedings, accused their Friend causelessly of Hypocrisy, he rebuk'd them very severely. *Will you, says he, speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him? Will ye accept his Person? Will ye contend for God?* That God could not be pleas'd with such Officiousness, he lets them know in the following words. *Is it good, that he should search you out? Or as one man mocketh another, do ye so mock him? To lye for God, is to mock him, that is, grossly to abuse and affront him. He will surely reprove you, &c.* St. Paul likewise vehemently rejects, and declares his detestation of that wicked Principle, *That evil may be done, that good may come. As we are slanderously reported, says he, Rom. 3. 8. and as some affirm that we say, Let us do evil that good may come; Whose damnation is just.*

It is indeed utterly contradictory in its self, to pretend to glorify God by unrighteous means. To glorify God, is to do good: but to use indirect means, is plainly to do evil; that is, it is to thwart the very design we pretend to promote. This therefore is another instance, wherein we are to follow *Solomon's* advice, to take care, that we use no means towards the promoting the best end, but such as we can fairly justify before God and Men.

3. The next particular in my Text is, That we should weigh and consider well what we are about to do, before we put it in execution, never acting rashly or precipitantly, especially in any matter of consequence; but so as that we may be able to give a good account of what we do, both to

our selves and others. *Ponder the path of thy feet.*

We should seriously consider both the nature of the action we are going about; and what will be, nay what may be the consequences of it. We are not able to know things intuitively, at one view, as God knoweth them: but we are endued with a power of deliberating within our selves, which power we are obliged to exercise very carefully, lest we be misled by prejudice or passion, by humor or interest; and lest we be seduced by the judgment of others, of whom we have conceiv'd a good opinion; or hurried on by a Party into which we have list'd our selves. We are so prone to be deceiv'd and impos'd upon, in these and many other ways, that we can have no security without *pondering the path of our feet.*

4. The next particular is, That we should always act by fix'd Rules, and upon certain Principles. *Let all thy Ways be establish'd:* But *established* they cannot be, unless founded upon Principles, and directed by Rules.

The great Principles upon which we should act, are these; The belief of a God, and of a Providence; of the Eternal and immutable difference between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, moral good and evil; of the immortality of the Soul, and the certainty of a future State; that we are accountable to Almighty God for all we do, and that we shall be rewarded or punished in another World, according to our behaviour in this. These are the only steady principles, upon
which

which we can act with any Security either to our selves or our Fellow-Creatures. He therefore that has thrown off a Sense of God and of Religion, has no Principles to govern himself by : but must either be led by his own fickle and uncertain humour ; or by that which appears to him to be his Interest, which will always vary according to the change of his Condition and Circumstances in this World.

The sure Rules, by which we are to direct all our Actions, are those of right reason, and the revealed Will of God. There is one *Lawgiver* to all Mankind, *that is God* ; and he alone can give us fix'd and certain Rules to act by, which he hath done partly in our very frame and constitution, and more clearly and fully in the Holy Scriptures ; and to these we must constantly have recourse, if we will follow the Advice of the wise Man. And we ought to take especial Care, that we do not misunderstand either the one or the other, being led by imagination instead of reason ; or by the word of God misinterpreted or misapplied, through our want of using due Application for the understanding it.

This is what God commanded the *Israelites* by *Moses*, after he had given them a body of Laws. *You shall observe to do therefore as the Lord your God hath commanded you ; you shall not turn aside Deut. 5. 32, 33. to the right hand or to the left ; you shall walk in all the Ways which the Lord your God hath commanded you ; that ye may live, and that it may be well with you.* This is the true Method to have our ways *establiſh'd*, to succeed and prosper in what we do, both

both from the nature of the thing, and the Blessing of God upon us.

And amongst these Laws of God there is one, in which natural and reveal'd Religion do perfectly agree, and which is proper to be mention'd on this occasion; that is, in the Words of St. Paul, *That every Soul should be subject to the higher Powers, as being ordained of God; and therefore not to resist the Power, which is the Ordinance of God, for the good of mankind; and all this, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake: and again, in the words of St. Peter, that we should submit ourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's Sake; whether it be to the King, as supreme; or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the Punishment of Evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the Will of God, &c.* The plain and obvious meaning of both which Texts I take to be, that every Subject should yield a willing Subjection to the civil Government under which he lives, obeying all its Laws, which do not interfere with any Divine Law, and quietly submitting to such penalties as are by the same Laws inflicted upon him, where he either has neglected to do his duty, or where he cannot in Conscience do such things as are required of him. This in short, is the Sum of what we commonly call *active* and *passive Obedience*; *active* to all the lawful Commands of the Government under which we are placed; and *passive*, by submitting to the Penalties which the Law inflicts; and all this *for Conscience sake*, it being *the Will of God, for the good*

Rom. 13.
1. &c.

1 Peter
2. 13, &c.

good of Men, that it should be so. But to proceed.

5. The next particular is, That we should carefully avoid the extremes on both hands, and never be so apprehensive of the danger on one side, as to overlook an equal, or it may be a greater danger on the other. *Turn neither to the right hand, nor to the left.*

The way of Virtue is said to be in the midst between two extremes. I will not warrant that it is so in all instances: but in many it is very apparent. Thus genuine Piety is placed between prophaneness on the one hand; and superstition on the other. Justice, between rigour; and laxness of Discipline. Temperance, between an undue Severity to the Body; and an inordinate Pampering its Desires. Civility, between the excess of Compliment, or Flattery; and moroseness, or rudeness. And to instance in no more, Loyalty or Fidelity to the Government we live under, between an undue compliance with Arbitrary and illegal Power; and a factious or seditious Behaviour. And there is nothing more common, than to see Men, in all these instances, running from one extreme into the other. When they have been made sensible by argument, or by experience, of the Error or Evil that lay on the one hand, they are apt to run so far from these, as to expose themselves without guard, to as great or greater Errors or Evils, that lye on the other hand. This is very observable in converts from one way of Religion, or from one party of Men;
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to the contrary. They generally prove more eager and fierce in the way they have newly entered into, than others that have been always in it: and this not always from design; but very often from levity and inconstancy of Temper. Here therefore *Solomon* advises to exercise our caution, *to turn neither to the right hand, nor to the left.* Either is a deviation from the strait path; and altho' one may possibly be less so than the other, the *right hand Error*, as we commonly phrase it, being not altogether, or not always so dangerous as *the left*, yet both are certainly wrong.

6. The last part of the advice is, That no motive, no temptation whatsoever should at any time prevail upon us, to do a wicked or an immoral action. *Remove thy foot from evil.* This has in part fallen under consideration already, *viz.* when I mention'd the using indirect means, to promote a good end: but forasmuch as my Text so expressly mentions it again, and concludes with it, I thought it requir'd a particular Observation.

It is indeed the sum of the whole advice contain'd in these words, That whatsoever is plainly immoral, contrary to any known Law of God, on argument, tho' never so plausible; no temptation, tho' never so alluring, should reconcile us to it.

'Tis true, Circumstances do alter the Nature of moral Actions, and make them either good or evil. All Circumstances therefore are to be seriously considered, according to the former Clause,
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Ponder the Path of thy Feet: but when that is done, whatsoever appears to us to be evil, we must not venture upon it, on any account whatsoever. For good and evil are not things of our making. God hath in Nature, and by his Laws, determin'd and for ever settled the difference between them, which is unalterable by any creature. And as God himself never assumes the Liberty of doing evil; so it is very certain, that he never did nor will allow any creature such a liberty. This is indeed the Cause of all God's displeasure towards any of his creatures, whether Angels or Men, that without his leave, nay against his Order, they have presumed to chuse evil rather than good. And so much may suffice for the first general head which I propos'd. I proceed to the next *viz.*

II. To shew wherein the detestable crime of this day contradicted this wholesome advice of the wise man. And it were easy to make it evident that it did contradict it, in every one of the forementioned particulars.

I will not say, that none of those that were guilty of it did propose to themselves a good end. I think it more reasonable to suppose, that some even of those great Malefactors did in earnest perswade themselves, that they were doing honour to God, and service to their Country; for whither may not a deluded imagination, & a deceived heart, carry a Man! But on the other hand, 'tis not to be doubted by any one that reflects upon the Passages of those times, but

that one end which many of them proposed was, the advancement of themselves, tho upon the ruin of their King and Country. Some, I question not, were moved by a principle of revenge, to destroy a Prince against whom they had most unreasonably conceived a mortal hatred. Others it's probable were led into it for their own safety, being conscious to themselves of having run into such excesses, that nothing could secure them from the punishment due to their Crimes already committed, but committing yet greater. 'Tis evident, that none of them duly considered the consequences of what they were about to do, they did not *ponder the Path of their Feet*. One may fairly suppose, that many of those who were Actors in this dismal Tragedy, if it had been told them, when they first engaged in the War, that they should within a few Years lay violent hands on their King, would have answered as *Hazael* did to the Prophet, *Is thy Servant, a dog, that he should do this thing?* Which very thing he afterwards did; and they in like manner, in spite of all their Protestations, and it may be intentious to the contrary.

And when they perpetrated this horrible Fact, neither did they then consider the miserable Consequences which might have been reasonably expected to follow upon it. What they were, sad experience has informed us; not only great Confusion for many Years together, before our ancient Government could be re-established; but moreover all those mischiefs which ensued from the banish-

²Kings 8.
13.

banishment of the Princes into a foreign Country, where they learned too much of the Religion and of the Customs of Strangers ; and a great part of those unreasonable and violent contentions and animosities, which have been ever since fomented amongst our selves.

But not to insist on these things. There are *three* particulars in which they most apparently deviated from *Solomon's* advice.

I. Under the pretence of avoiding one extreme, they ran directly and blindly into another.

I will not look back so far, as to enquire into the unhappy occasions of that War, in which so much *English* Blood was shed by the hands of *English* men, nor will I examine what grounds there were for the fears and jealousies which preceded it. This is sufficient for our present purpose, that those who engaged against the King did it under pretence of fearing arbitrary Power and Popery. But were they not afraid at the same time of Anarchy and Confusion ; of relaxing all government and discipline in the Nation ; of throwing off all Reverence to Superiors both in Church and State ; of letting in Enthusiasm and Libertinism first, and thereby laying a Foundation for Infidelity and Atheism ? The mounds and banks being once broken down, these Evils rush'd in like a flood, with a torrent not to be resisted.

There is no question, but that Popery and arbitrary Power are very fore evils, and terrible plagues to any people : but there are other evils beside these ; and there are, 'tis to be hoped, o-

ther ways of avoiding these evils, besides such as will effectually lead us into mischiefs of another kind.

2. Those that were guilty of this crime acted upon no certain Principles, they were guided by no fix'd Rules, and consequently their *ways* were not *establish'd*.

When they first engaged in the war, they profess'd a great regard for the person of the King, and the establish'd Laws of the Realm; they pretended only to amend errors, and to correct the abuses of Government. But these Principles were wholly abandoned; and the Laws, which should have been the standing Rules of their Actions, entirely violated. What could be a more open contradiction to all the Laws of the Realm, and to all the Principles upon which they profess'd at the first to act, than to advance the power of the sword, above that of the civil Magistrate; than for an Army puffed up with success to take the management of things into their own hands, first to subdue those under whom they pretended to have fought, and by whose authority they took upon them to justify themselves; and then, to make all sure, to arraign and murder the King himself; to demolish the whole Frame of our Government; to subvert the very foundations of the *English* Constitution; and to manage all things by mere arbitrary will and force? If this were not to throw off certain Principles and fix'd Rules, nothing could be so.

3. To

3. To make my charge full, I add, They did not *remove their foot from evil*. They presum'd to use the most indirect and unlawful means, in order to the bringing about their ends; and whatsoever good they might pretend to have in their Intentions, they *did* that which was grossly *evil*.

If to murder a Man, much more a King, a Prince of eminent Piety and Virtue, if all this without the least pretence to legal Authority, nay directly in opposition to the known, establish'd Laws of their Country, against many Professions and solemn Protestations to the contrary, against the avowed judgment and repeated declarations of all Orders of men in the Kingdom; in a word, if to assume and usurp to themselves a power to try, to condemn, and barbarously to execute him whom God, and the Laws of the Realm had appointed to be their Sovereign, and whom the Body of the Nation were ready, if they had dared, to have own'd as such, if to do this before his own palace, openly, avowedly, in the view of the World; if all this be *wickedness*, 'tis what these men were guilty of, and what no pretended good design, no plausible argument, no extraordinary motive could justify.

Thus I have done with the *second* general head; I proceed to the *third*, viz.

III. To answer an Objection, which has been often, tho' very unreasonably urg'd against declaring our detestation of this flagitious fact, since the late happy Revolution.

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'Tis objected by two sorts of men, and those of very different Principles, that we of this Church and Nation contradict our selves, in assembling in the house of God once in the Year, to bewail the crime of this day, and to deprecate the displeasure of Almighty God upon account of it, whilst on another Anniversary we assemble again, to give thanks to God for the deliverances which it pleas'd God to grant us upon that day, particularly by *giving his late Majesty a safe arrival here, and making all opposition to fall before him, till he became our King and Governor.* Some that object this are very hearty in condemning the Murder of King Charles the first; but charge us with having renewed our guilt with respect to King James the II^d. Others are very well pleas'd with the late change: but are so weak as to imagine, that upon the same Principles upon which that was made, the Crime of this day may be also justified. The former of these are avowed Enemies to the present Government; the latter, its false Friends: but both meet in one and the same mistake, of confounding two cases, which, in direct opposition to both, I doubt not to affirm were widely different one from the other; so that we may and ought to mourn, and humble our selves before God on one of these Anniversaries, whilst we rejoice and give praise to him on the other. And this I think will be clearly evident to any one who can without prejudice or partiality compare the two cases. Let these few particulars be considered to that purpose.

1. In our late case no violence was offer'd to the Person of the Prince, altho' he was entirely in the hands of those who had opportunity and strength to have done it. The Example of *David* was religiously observed, who, when *Saul* was by Providence unexpectedly delivered into his hands, ^{1 Sam. 26.} charged his Captains *not to destroy him, or stretch* ^{8, 9.} *forth an hand against him*, declaring with great vehemence his abhorrence of such a vile act: whereas in the former instance, the greatest indignities were offer'd to the King's Person, and at last his blood was shed by violent and cruel men in the sight of the Sun.

2. In our late case the form of our Government was not in the least alter'd; but the Constitution carefully preserv'd. The legal Monarchy was maintain'd, tho' not in the same Person, yet in the same Family and Line; and that as near the ordinary course, as the then state of things was judged to admit. The Establish'd Church was preserv'd; the execution of the Laws continued according to the ancient forms; no violence offer'd to any Rank or Order of men; every man that would submit to the Government was permitted to enjoy his possessions, and the fruit of his labours without molestation; nay very great and unusual clemency was exercised towards the very enemies of the Government: whereas in the former case the whole Frame of our Constitution was dissolv'd; violence was offer'd to all Orders and Ranks of men; not one of the States was preserv'd entire; the Establish'd Church was subverted;

ted; there were continual vicissitudes in the administration of the civil Government, every one of them arbitrary and illegal; in a word, Arms, not Law, govern'd the Kingdom, which was wholly subjected to irresistible Power. In fine, as in the former instance the establish'd state of things both civil and ecclesiastical was wholly overturn'd: so in the latter, there was no other alteration made, than what was judg'd necessary in that juncture to the preserving the establish'd Constitution both in Church and State. Yet farther,

3. The alterations made in the late case were not attempted upon meer imaginary or uncertain fears and jealousies; but when in the judgment of the Nation, all Orders and Ranks of Men agreeing in it, and very few particular persons of any note or character dissenting, there was an absolute necessity: Whereas in the former Instance, whatsoever occasions there might be of fears and jealousies, yet still things were not come to that pass in the judgment of the Nation, that should necessitate the subverting and violating all Law and Order. Even when the civil War began, there was a very great and considerable Body of the Kingdom, and those of all Ranks, Persons of great Honour and Virtue, hearty Friends both to the civil Government and to the Church, who were so far from judging it to be necessary or lawful to take up Arms against the King, that they adhered firmly to him, and engaged their lives and all that was dear to them in his defence. And when it ended
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in the Murder of the King, the Nation was so far from approving that abominable fact, that it is certain there was not one in many thousands, who did not abhor it, and great Numbers of all sorts openly declared their detestation of it, even of those who before had taken up Arms against him.

And surely we cannot but observe a wide difference between this case, and that of the Revolution, when the whole Kingdom, and all Orders of Men in it, even the Army of the then King, refused to assist him in repelling our Deliverer, openly avowing that they thought it unlawful to do so, and, when nothing less would do, generally going over to him, very thankfully embracing his assistance, and joining with him in order to the compleating their own deliverance.

4. Once more. There is a plain and essential difference between the two cases, in this; That whatsoever was determin'd for the settling of the Government as it now stands, was done by the States of the Nation freely and fully assembled, after mature debate and consideration; that is, it was done by those, who, in the circumstances in which we then were, and to which we were reduced by the Administrators of the Government themselves; I say, it was done by them who in those circumstances were the only Persons that could or ought to have done it.

For supposing matters to be brought to the pass they then were, I desire any man to propose any other than one of these two ways of determining the Controversy, and settling a Nation in peace

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and order for the future ; viz. either by fighting it out, till the prevailing Party should give Laws to the conquer'd ; or by calmly debating the case, and determining what is to be done by the major Vote of the Society. The latter of these I believe no one will deny to be the more humane and the more christian Method of the two : and this was the Method then used, thus the Government was then settled, and I trust will, by the blessing of Almighty God, stand firm and secure upon this bottom : Whereas it cannot be denied, but that long before, and always after the Murder of King *Charles*, nothing was done by publick consent fairly obtain'd ; the Representatives of the Nation neither were, nor could be peaceably and orderly assembled ; but a few Men, with Swords in their hands, determin'd matters as to them seem'd best, or, which is all one, appointed who should determine them.

But I will add no more. Thus much I thought it expedient to suggest to your thoughts, to obviate the calumnies of some, and the gross mistakes of others, upon this Argument.

IV. And now to conclude ; for the time will not permit me to enlarge in my application of this discourse. The Use which we should make of it is in short this.

To reflect upon the foul Act of this day with abhorrence, to declare our detestation of it openly, and heartily to pray to God, that when he visits
for

for iniquity, he will no more lay this heinous sin to our charge.

That we have felt many unhappy Effects of it, as its natural consequences, cannot be denied, which we may very reasonably also account as tokens of God's displeasure for it. Let us be thankful to Almighty God, that he hath in the midst of Judgment remember'd Mercy, delivering us from some of those Evils which it had so great an hand in bringing upon us; that he did in his due time peaceably restore the Royal Family, and with it our ancient Government both in Church and State; that by another signal Act of Providence since that, he again deliver'd us from those great and imminent dangers to which we were again expos'd; that since the late happy Revolution he hath given us the great Blessing of seeing three excellent Branches of that Family sitting upon the Throne of their Ancestors, under whom we have so happily enjoy'd our civil Liberties, together with the profession of God's true Religion, hoping for the continuance of the same inestimable Blessings to our Posterity, by the legal Settlement of the Crown on the next Protestant Branches of the Royal Line.

What remains after this? but that we should testify to all the World our hearty Sorrow for the Sin of our Fathers, as well as for all our own unworthiness and ingratitude, together with our unfeigned thankfulness for the divine Goodness to us, by an untainted Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign, the Queen's most Excellent Majesty,

now

now reigning over us ; by a steady adherence to the Succession, as by Law establish'd, in the Illustrious House of *Hanover* ; and by a perfect harmony and agreement amongst our selves ; in a word, by following the advice of *Solomon*, in making the glory of God, and the good of our Country, our End ; in pursuing this End by honest and lawful Means ; in acting always upon reasonable and christian Principles, and according to wise and good Rules, that is, by the Laws of God, and the Realm ; in *turning neither to the right hand, nor to the left* ; and thereby removing our feet from evil. So shall *our ways be establish'd*, and God, even our own God, of whose good Providence over us we have had so many remarkable Instances, *shall give us his Blessing.* Amen.

F I N I S.

